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# GAITSKELL AND NATO

By Alan Lovell

**THE Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament by its very nature was bound to make fundamental changes in the political climate of this country. As a result of the renewed debate in the trade unions and the Labour Party, we are now seeing two such changes taking place.**

These changes are:

1. For the first time since the immediate post-war years, the whole question of the value of the Atlantic Alliance is being openly discussed. For at least the last ten years, discussion of this subject has been taboo.
2. The future of the Labour Party is now being seriously questioned. For too long it has been assumed that the Labour Party would go on for ever. Now it becomes clearer every day that there must be a new grouping of the radical forces in this country.

When Mr. Bevan says that the debate on the Bomb is going on inside the Labour Party, what he is in fact saying is that the important political divisions in this country are not between the Labour and Conservative Parties but between both the orthodox parties and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and similar radical groups.

Both these questions have been discussed by the leading Left-wing weeklies recently. In a long editorial last week, *The New Statesman* considered how the Labour Party could be best united to face the Tories in the coming election. At the same time, Michael Foot, the editor of *Tribune* produced an article on the Labour Party and the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance.

Some weeks ago, the *New Statesman* had an editorial called "Second thoughts on the Bomb." Looking at this title, one assumed that it referred to the Labour Party's new non-nuclear club policy. But having read this editorial and last week's, it now becomes clear that the second thoughts apply to the *New Statesman*. The *New Statesman*'s thesis is that if Mr. Gaitskell will only stress the positive aspects of his new policy, all the people who the *New Statesman* calls "the young idealists of the Labour Movement," will come in behind him to fight the Tories.

Anybody who has any knowledge of the young people who have supported the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament will know how fantastic this idea is. It is not only that the Labour Party policy is completely unsatisfactory, but also the thoroughly unpleasant way in which it was reached. People are not now going quietly to forget Labour's sudden change when the Municipal and General Workers voted for unilateral nuclear disarmament, nor are they going to forget the recalc conference of the Municipal and General Workers Union which is to take place at the end of July.

## Second thoughts

The *New Statesman* may think that Mr. Gaitskell "has put himself across to the general public as a man of decision who refuses to be browbeaten by even the strongest trade union boss." Anybody who has followed events at all for the last two months must surely see Mr. Gaitskell coming across as an unscrupulous politician who is prepared to go a long way in order to keep his position and his beloved H-bomb.

It is easy to see why it is necessary for *The New Statesman* to have second thoughts. Seeing the Labour Party as the only instrument for implementing the policies it thinks worthwhile it is desperately looking for a way of making the Labour Party an effective challenger for power at the next election. Once you think this is absolutely necessary, you land in some very curious positions.

Michael Foot's thesis is that we should not be seduced into an argument about NATO but should be content to point to the contradictions between Labour Party policy and NATO strategy.

NATO is not just an organisation for the so-called defence of the Western world. It is also an alliance of reactionary governments like Germany, France and Portugal, an alliance of Western imperialist powers, who as in the case of the French H-tests in the Sahara pay very little attention to the health and safety of African nations.

Any policy which aimed to make a decisive change in the world situation must begin with leaving NATO as fast as possible.

## Probation conditions ignored at Omaha

### MISSILE PROTESTOR JAILED

**THE first missile base protestor at Omaha to violate his probation conditions was arrested on July 10 by the US Marshal, who handcuffed and shackled him.**

He was 22-year-old Karl Meyer, founder of the Chicago Catholic Worker House of Hospitality and son of Congressman William Meyer of Vermont.

Karl Meyer, a member of Omaha Action—the American radical pacifist project against nuclear missile policy—had the previous day been given a suspended sentence of six months in jail and a \$500 fine and had been placed on probation for one year for trespassing on the Mead inter-continental ballistic missile site near Omaha, Nebraska.

He had "broken" his probation conditions—which he had never accepted—by returning to the Omaha Action group at the entrance to the missile site.

Karl Meyer has now started to serve his original sentence.

Also arrested on July 10 for trespassing on the site were Hiram Holdridge and Larry Shumm. Bail was set at \$2,500 each; for the seven trespassers previously arrested in the action it had been set at \$1,000 each.

Federal Judge Richard E. Robinson apparently became more severe than when he had set lower bail and given the maximum suspended sentences.

Commenting on the use of shackles on Karl Meyer, Omaha Action states:

"The US Marshal deals professionally with criminals who frequently resort to violence in escape attempts, and has had little experience with those who practice civil disobedience in a spirit of love and non-violence.

"To the Marshal, Karl Meyer was a criminal and could not be trusted.

"We hope Government officials will realise that shows of force and acts which appear to degrade other men are inappropriate and unwise in dealing with members of Omaha Action, and will only serve to rouse support and sympathy for those who are arrested."

## Letter to Eisenhower

In a letter to President Eisenhower, A. J. Muste, Co-ordinator of Omaha Action, set out the reasons of the group for asking to be admitted to the missile site.

"We feel called," he wrote, "to speak with our fellows who are building the missile base at the point where our Government is carrying out this crucial part of a nuclear military programme, which we believe to be both profoundly evil and practically suicidal.

"There is another and more fundamental reason why we wish to enter the site and will attempt to do so, if our request is refused, though this would presumably be an act of civil disobedience.

"The great stretch of land which is being used for military purposes at Mead belongs, in the final analysis, to God, as does the entire earth. Man did not create the land, It was given to him as a heritage



Protestors at the entrance to the Mead inter-continental ballistic missile site near Omaha, Nebraska, on July 1. On the left, Karl Meyer and bearded Ross Anderson. A. J. Muste (with hat) addresses the military over the gate. Moments later all three climbed the gate and were arrested for trespass, as reported in PN last week.

to use for the production of food and clothing and shelter, and that he might enjoy its beauty.

"... We do not believe that our nation has any right to engage in preparations for mass destruction by nuclear weapons or to hold the threat of such destruction over the people of other countries, to make 'the women and children and noncombatants of another country,' as Mr. George F. Kennan recently put it 'the hostages for the conduct of their government.'

"The fact that our own people are similarly threatened by the Soviet Union only means that in this nuclear missile race we are preparing our own destruction as well. The whole policy, on the part of every nation engaged in it, is mad as well as evil.

"Therefore, we cannot recognise the right of the Government to take over, directly or indirectly, more and more land and equipment of all kinds for mass destruction. . . .

"All those who use the land for evil purposes, whether deliberately or otherwise, are the invaders, not we as we enter the missile site.

"We bear no malice toward anyone. We do not arrogate any moral superiority to ourselves. We contemplate no use of violence under any circumstances and no resort to subterfuge. We are driven to act on the Truth as we see it. Somehow we hope that what is most truly human in us may speak to what is most truly human in our fellows."

For Omaha Action's discipline see back page.

## Disgusted by job on missile base —worker quits

**A**NOTHER building worker has left his job on the Polebrook missile base site near Peterborough. He is Tom Godfrey, of Peterborough, who was employed on the site for about two weeks before he became disgusted with the nature of the work and quit last week.

Several other building workers left the site early in July as the result of an intensive campaign by the Peterborough Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament group.

The Direct Action Committee, which is carrying on activity against the Northants-Leicestershire rocket bases, is assisting Mr. Godfrey from their Relief Fund until he finds other employment.

Trade union and local Labour Party support for the campaign in the Northants-Leicestershire area has been strong, as it has too in the Suffolk campaign, where the Woodbridge Trades Council has promised help.

A discussion took place last week among those who are taking part in the Polebrook campaign as to future activity. Volunteers who are needed for both the Direct Action Committee campaigns should contact the Committee at 344, Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4. (STAmford Hill 7062.)



# A SECRET ARMY FOR NATO

The following extracts are from "The Secret Army," an article by a Canadian Army officer, Captain D. J. Goodspeed, which originally appeared in the General Military Review for October, 1957. The extracts are here reproduced from last month's issue of Liberation.

**T**HE two tragic periods of fighting which highlighted the recent revolt in Hungary have again focussed attention on a type of military operation which in the past has perhaps been too much neglected.

What happened in Hungary was the spontaneous uprising of an oppressed people and, from the purely military point of view, the action demonstrated all the weaknesses inherent in its origin. On the Hungarian side there was no hierarchy of leadership, no chain of command, no overall plan, no co-ordination of effort, and no logistical support.

Had there been a recognised leadership, a previously worked-out plan, and a staff to implement decisions and co-ordinate operations, there can be no doubt that the whole rebellion would have had a very different history.

Now the ways in which an established government may be violently overthrown and a new one substituted fall naturally into three categories, which are the revolution, the civil war, and the *coup d'état*.

## Alternative violence

The *coup* is, above all else, the result of careful planning under a competent leadership. It is indeed the most aesthetically satisfying, as well as the most humane, of all military operations, for it achieves the same type of objective as does a war or a revolution without the clumsy necessity of prolonged campaigning.

At least in the recent past too little military thought has been given to the technicalities of the *coup d'état*.

In many ways this neglect would appear to be unfortunate, for it is possible that the *coup d'état* will play an increasing rôle in military calculations in the future. As conventional war becomes more and more costly and uncertain, it becomes less and less satisfactory as the classic "continuation of policy by other means" which Clausewitz believed it to be.

Yet only the most optimistic can hope that violent solutions to political problems will therefore be abandoned. It is more probable surely that there will be a search for alternative methods of violence, and of these the *coup* is by all standards the most worthy of consideration.

Nor is there any reason why the free world's interest in this problem should be restricted solely to its defensive aspects. Recently indeed the *coup* has been used almost exclusively by totalitarian powers to extend their control over neighbouring states, yet the facts of the case would seem to indicate that dictatorships are inherently more vulnerable to the *coup d'état* than are democracies.

In military terms the successful *coup d'état* may be divided into three distinct phases, and we may conveniently call these the Preparatory Phase, the Attack Phase, and the Consolidation Phase. It will often be impossible to fix a definite point in time

for the termination of this third phase, for there is probably a sense in which this task is never finally completed since one of the continuing commitments of all governments is self-perpetuation.

## Provocative actions

There can be no doubt that the first, or Preparatory Phase, is by far the most difficult, the most dangerous, and the most uncertain.

Certain guides from past experience, however, may be useful. In the first place it is probably safe to say that insurgent leaders should endeavour to ensure that public opinion is inflamed against the government prior to the *coup*. Carefully selected acts should be performed which will provoke an official reaction, and this reaction should be presented to the public in the worst possible light.

There is probably no better way of achieving this aim than by a judicious assassination or two, preferably in those districts which are most apathetic to the insurgent cause.

Security, of course, is of paramount importance. If the existing regime has foreknowledge of the plot, it commonly possesses enough power to crush it utterly. One of the as yet unexplained phenomena of human existence is the consistent readiness of people to obey an established authority, and even that government which, if overthrown, would be execrated by the entire population will normally be able to rally enough support to defeat the insurgents, providing only that it can act in time.

Some security system which will ruthlessly eliminate treasonous or unreliable elements is patently necessary and it is as obviously desirable that the government's intelligence service should be penetrated at as high a level as possible.

## Cell system

The use of a cell system, at least in the lower echelons of the conspiracy, is almost certainly mandatory, and the employment of a special section to rescue captured members or to eliminate those who are in danger of revealing vital information will generally prove an unpleasant necessity. In this, as in all other operations in a *coup d'état*, casualties must be expected and accepted.

Liaison between Main and Tactical Headquarters inevitably involves border crossing which, although difficult, is certainly not impossible, as the history of the last ten years in Europe conclusively proves.

Obviously it is not possible to establish in advance what the precise military objectives of a *coup d'état* should be. Those personalities who are the heart of the government must, of course, be neutralised, but very careful thought must go into the drawing up of this proscription list. If the *coup* is successful, the rounding up of government supporters can continue well into the Consolidation Phase, so it is therefore only necessary to neutralise in the Attack Phase those whose freedom would actually hinder that phase.

The neutralisation of government leaders may be achieved in one of two ways, either by death or by capture. Of these death is generally the easier and the more reliable as it is certainly the more final.

The buildings to be actually occupied will generally be senior government offices (including the Parliament House, if such an institution exists and is in session), police headquarters, especially those of the secret police, military headquarters unless—as is devoutly to be hoped—these are already on the rebel side, and radio and television stations.

A previously prepared programme of newscasts and announcements for the

broadcasting stations should be drawn up well in advance and the general public from the very inception of the *coup* should be kept informed, not necessarily of what is actually going on, but at least of what the rebels wish them to believe.

The object of this, of course, is to influence the public to those courses of action desired by the insurgents, and it is not therefore necessary that the broadcasts correspond to the real situation. If the *coup* goes well, the announcements will be generally accurate; if it goes badly, or if the timetable cannot be kept, the false news can confuse and harm only the government supporters. In any case, in the heat of the action only an insignificant number of individuals will be able to contradict these reports from personal observation.

The overall aim of the Attack Phase is, by sudden violence, to confuse, bewilder, and throw into disorder the entire portion of the government machinery which might offer effective resistance, and to replace this as soon as possible with a working alternative.

## The first two hours

Time is the one commodity which the rebels cannot afford to waste. Everything probably depends on the first two hours. Government communication networks must be disabled and government supporters must be completely terrorised from the outset.

In this the insurgents should be utterly ruthless. Casualties which would be prohibitive over any extended period are well spent if success is gained quickly, and while it lasts the *coup* should reach a veritable crescendo of fury.

In cases where the Attack Phase is complicated by the presence of foreign troops who might support the government it is absolutely essential that the nation's armed forces are, from the outset, wholeheartedly on the rebel side. Even when these conditions prevail, however, every endeavour short of hopelessly compromising the strategic position should be made to prevent an engagement between the occupying forces and the patriot army.

If by guile or deception, or even better by subversion and treason within the foreign forces, so much as a few hours can be gained, this time will almost always work to the rebel's advantage.

Even after a successful *coup* it is probable that a considerable degree of chaos will prevail for some time. Fortunately, except in those cases where the aim of the *coup* is the establishment of a military dictatorship, two different sets of revolutionaries will normally be involved, for in *coups d'état*, just as in more conventional forms of warfare, it is certainly desirable that there should be a clear-cut distinction between the responsibilities of the politicians and those of the soldiers.

## The need to convince

The politicians who have been put in power by the *coup* must strive during the Consolidation Phase to convince the general public that the new government is deserving of effective support. They must also try to convey this same idea to the governments of friendly neighbouring states, and indeed to the world at large.

The military portion of the Consolidation Phase falls naturally into two parts, and the chief decision of the supreme commander is at what time and with what proportion of his forces he should abandon the one and press forward with the other. These two portions of the Consolidation Phase are the Pursuit and the Mobilisation.

It is, of course, extremely important that all government supporters should be rooted out and disposed of without delay, and it is probably better to err on the side of ferocity in such an operation.

Ideally this is the time for the employment of the supreme commander's operational reserve. The more rapidly these troops can control the avenues of escape, the richer the harvest is likely to be.

## COMMENT

### Democracy in contempt

**L**EADERS of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers have decided to recall the Union's annual delegate conference to discuss the recent joint policy statement by the Labour Party and the Trade Union Council on nuclear weapons. It was against the advice of these leaders that the Union's annual conference recently passed a resolution calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain.

The official reason for the Union's recall, that the Conference was not able to discuss earlier the new Labour Party policy, is of course monstrous. The "non-nuclear club" theory was not suddenly born last month; and in passing a motion for nuclear renunciation the General and Municipal Workers were rejecting all such plans as that to retain nuclear weapons until all the second-rate Powers agree to abandon them.

The Union's leadership is determined to bring the Conference back into line behind Labour Party policy; and in this it will probably succeed. But August 21 will be a black day for democracy in British trade unions.

A move in a similar direction was Mr. Gaitskell's recent speech in which he argued that ultimately Labour policy was not decided by the Party's annual conference but by a Labour Government. Conference decisions, therefore, were not final and binding.

It is moves such as these that reveal the tremendous contempt in which the opinions of ordinary people are held by the Labour Establishment. If the traditional machinery of democratic institutions is manipulated in this way so that the orthodox means of political expression of mere citizens are effectively blocked, the validity of the whole conventional theory of democratic progress is called into question.

## The secret army

**A** STRIKING example of military propaganda appears in this issue in Captain Goodspeed's article on "The Secret Army." To the layman it is unbelievable propaganda, but for military theoreticians it is of course their daily fare; indeed, there is a terrible realism about the need for planning a successful *coup d'état* once such methods are entertained as legitimate.

We publish this article as a reminder that militarism dictates its own values, and that it is not only the militarists of "the enemy" who make such bloodthirsty remarks. This is the price all people pay for war preparations.

Captain Goodspeed's article first appeared in 1957 in the General Military Review, which is published in France under the sponsorship of the leading military figures in NATO and its member countries. At that time we wrote to the appropriate office in Whitehall and to the publishers in France in an attempt to obtain a copy. The fact that neither letter was even acknowledged is an indication of the pride that these military gentlemen take in their work.

There is no doubt that if the general public were aware that the sort of considerations which Captain Goodspeed discusses are in fact the way that their fate is being prepared, people would not tolerate all the nonsense about "defending freedom" that is trotted out with hypocritical regularity.

The freedom that the world needs is freedom from such sickening preparations. The next time the people whom Professor G. J. Renier calls "outsized men" seek to comfort us with NATO or the Warsaw Pact, we should remember "guile, deception, subversion and treason" and the proscription list for neutralisation.

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## Spanish students on trial

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1204 July 24, 1959 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## A blind spot

By Sybil Morrison

*Man's greatest achievements have been the work of some obscure man or handful of men with faith in themselves, helping mankind against mankind's stubborn opposition . . . one man with courage makes a majority.—Clarence K. Streit. "Union Now."*

LAST week a Memorial to Christabel Pankhurst was unveiled by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir; there, in the shadow of the House of Lords, which at long last has opened its obstinately closed doors to women, a concourse of men and women were gathered to do honour to one who had defied the law and suffered the consequences, in order to bring the cause of women's emancipation to public notice.

The Victoria Tower Gardens were gay with the purple, green and white banners of the past; Dame Ethyl Smythe's resounding "March of the Women" awakened echoes of feet marching, paradoxically, to prison and to freedom.

Lord Kilmuir spoke of the long years of "stubborn opposition" to women's demand for freedom and justice, and of the blind spot that sometimes assails the most intelligent and rational of politicians and statesmen, which caused so many of them to obstruct for so long, this struggle for the vote.

Yet, he pointed out, in the end, what seemed impossible turned out to be not only possible, but entirely acceptable. Just for a moment he touched on his wondering thought that there might, perhaps, even to-day, be other causes, equally rational and necessary, that were obstructed and opposed by a congenital blind spot in the minds of the leaders of the world.

A solitary "Hear! hear" rang out; and I will leave my readers to guess whose voice that might have been!

It requires very little intelligence to know that a nuclear war, whether it is started by the East, or by the West, must end in total disaster for the whole human race. In spite of that knowledge, it seems that statesmen, trade union leaders and politicians of all parties, are wilfully blind to the facts; they reiterate a promise that Britain will never use the bomb first, when they know perfectly well that there is small chance of survival for this island if ever it is used against us; they obstinately refuse to see that if war should come Britain must use it first, or perish.

These weapons are the outcome of war; they belong to war, and they will be used in war; it is clear that the only real hope is to abandon war, and yet there is a blind spot that prevents the acceptance of this solution.

The pacifist movement is a tiny minority, and those who belong to it sometimes despair of its effectiveness; but to have faith in one's cause is basic to ultimate achievement, and confidence and courage are as good as a majority. The time is perhaps near when the impossible turns out to be not only possible but acceptable. Let us have faith!

### Reconciliation Editor dead

PEACE NEWS regret to announce the death of the Rev. Glyn Lloyd Phelps on July 9. As editor of Reconciliation, the journal of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, he made a forthright and vigorous contribution to Christian pacifist thinking, achieving this despite a long period of ill health. A memorial service is to be arranged.

# NUCLEAR ARMS FOR JAPAN?

**DOUBTS** have been cast upon statements which appeared in the British Press in February to the effect that Japan had totally renounced nuclear weapons.

Prime Minister Kishi said last year on several occasions that Japan would not equip the "self-defence" forces with nuclear weapons.

He further declared on February 9 this year that Japan renounced such weapons even for defence and would not have them on her soil.

However, because of the intended revision of the Japan-US Security Treaty, fears have been expressed by the Japanese Council Against Atom and Hydrogen Bombs that a large scale build-up of the defence forces leading to the supply of nuclear weapons to the "self-defence" forces is in the offing. These fears were given added substance in March by statements in the Japanese Diet that American Honest John rockets already in Japanese possession were to be equipped with nuclear warheads.

On March 18, Shigejiro Ino, former Defence Agency Director General, pointed out at a Cabinet meeting of the House of Representatives that "... nuclear warheads have been made much smaller nowadays, as in the case of warheads for Honest Johns . . . it is not unconstitutional for Japan to possess such defensive weapons as Honest Johns."

Questioned about the nature of these warheads, Ino replied first that they were about one-eighth and then that they were about one-quarter the power of the A-bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In reply to a question on March 19, Mr. Kishi stated at a session of the Budget

Committee of the House of Councillors:

"We do not interpret Article 9 of the Constitution to mean that the introduction of atomic and hydrogen bombs is prohibited under any circumstances. Foreign forces are stationed in Japan under the security treaty. Naturally these foreign forces have the right to belligerency, and land, maritime and

aerial potential, as Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution is not applied to them."

During the questions which followed Foreign Minister Aichihiro Fujiyama said that Japanese "self-defence" forces would act in co-operation with US forces on Japanese soil if Japan were invaded or if it were thought invasion was likely.

## Japanese sympathy for A-bomb pilot

A LETTER of sympathy was sent recently by "Yuwa Kai," Japanese affiliate of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, to US Major Claude Eatherly, the pilot of the plane that dropped the A-bomb on Hiroshima.

A sense of guilt has haunted Major Eatherly who helped to kill over 100,000 at Hiroshima. Since the bombing he has turned to drink and become involved in a number of attempted robberies. He once attempted suicide, and during the last ten years has had several breakdowns and been repeatedly in hospital undergoing psychiatric treatment. He received the letter from Yuwa Kai while in the Veterans Administration Hospital in Waco, Texas.

The Japanese Christians of Yuwa Kai wrote:

"With this letter comes to you our warm sympathy and earnest prayer that you recover speedily. . . We wish you to know that we regard you as a victim of war in much the same way as those who were injured in the war, and are praying for your complete recovery and that the day shall come when you will join the forces of good will, forgiving

any wrongs of the past on either part, and work for establishing a peaceful world, a world of reconciliation and love."

Following Major Eatherly's participation in post-war atomic bomb tests his wife has had two miscarriages of malformed foetuses, and it has been discovered that many of her husband's sperm cells have become deformed. In 1950 and 1954, babies born to the Eatherlys had blood diseases which have been attributed to Eatherly's exposure to radiation from the bombs he had dropped.

Signatories to the letter, which was delivered by Mrs. Lurger, a Vice-Chairman of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, included Iwao Ayusawa, Chairman of Yuwa Kai and Professor of International Relations at the International Christian University in Tokyo, and the following members of Yuwa Kai: Executive Secretary Paul M. Sekiya, Treasurer Hideyo Seki, Hatsue Monomiya and Bunichi Kajami.

The full text of the letter and other details appear in the American For magazine Fellowship, Box 271, Nyack, New York.

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**JULY**  
Monday, 27: London, S.W.1. 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd., London Appellate Tribunal for COs. Wednesday, 29: Manchester, 3: 10.30 a.m. Assembly Room, Blackfriars Ho., Parsonage. Appellate Tribunal for COs. Sunday, 26: London, N.W.1. 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Sufi Service, Hayat Bouman. PPU Religion Commission.

### LITERATURE

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